

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-15

ACDA-10 EB-08 TRSE-00 OMB-01 IO-13 /101 W

-----101520Z 105289 /50

R 101200Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0008

INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

USMISSION USNATO BRUSSELS

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 4 STOCKHOLM 1069

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, MILI, SW

SUBJECT: PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT ON SWEDISH SECURITY
POLICY AND TOTAL DEFENSE

1. DEFENSE MINISTER ERIK KRONMARK WILL OUTLINE ON MARCH 10
THE GOVERNMENT'S BILL CONCERNING SWEDISH DEFENSE COSTS FOR
THE FIVE-YEAR PERIOD 1977-1982. THE BILL CONTAINS AN
INTRODUCTION BY PRIME MINISTER THORBJORN FALLDIN ON
SWEDISH SECURITY AND TOTAL DEFENSE POLICY. THE EMBASSY BELIEVES
THIS BASIC STATEMENT IS IMPORTANT IN GAINING AN
UNDERSTANDING OF THE PHILOSOPHY WHICH WILL LARGELY GOVERN THE
SPECIFIC SWEDISH DEFENSE AND SECURITY PROGRAMS TO BE CARRIED OUT
BY THE COUNTRY'S FIRST NON-SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT IN FOUR
DECADES. FALLDIN'S COMPLETE STATEMENT FOLLOWS IN ENGLISH
TRANSLATION.

2. BEGIN TEXT. BEGIN QUOTE. SWEDISH SOCIETY IS
DISTINGUISHED BY A DEEP AND FUNDAMENTAL COMMUNITY OF VALUES.
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THIS IS MAINTAINED AND STRENGTHENED BY THE IMPLEMENTATION
OF THOSE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS WHICH ARE IN
ACCORDANCE WITH THE WISHES AND EFFORTS OF THE SWEDISH PEOPLE.
THE INTERNAL STABILITY, WHICH SUCH A DEVELOPMENT IN ALL
AREAS OF SOCIETY CREATES, WILL REMAIN AN ESSENTIAL
PRECONDITION FOR THE ABILITY OF THE GOVERNMENT TO PURSUE A
FIRM POLICY IN PEACE AS WELL AS IN WARTIME.

"THERE IS OVERWHELMING SUPPORT IN SWEDISH PUBLIC OPINION FOR THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF OUR SECURITY POLICY. THESE PRINCIPLES RETAIN THEIR VALIDITY EVEN IN A WORLD WHERE BOTH FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE POLICY HAVE TO BE FORMULATED WITH DUE REGARD TO CHANGING CONDITIONS, SUCH AS INCREASED INTERNATIONAL INTERDEPENDENCE AND THE INCREASING VULNERABILITY OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES.

"EVER SINCE THE 1968 RIKSDAG DECISION, THE GENERAL OBJECTIVE OF OUR SECURITY POLICY HAS BEEN EXPRESSED IN THE FOLLOWING WAY.

"SWEDEN'S SECURITY POLICY, LIKE THAT OF OTHER COUNTRIES, AIMS TO PRESERVE THE NATION'S INDEPENDENCE. THE GOALS OF OUR SECURITY POLICY SHOULD THEREFORE BE TO ASSURE THE NATION'S FREEDOM OF ACTION IN ALL SITUATIONS BY MEANS WE OURSELVES CHOOSE, SO THAT WITHIN OUR BORDERS WE CAN PRESERVE AND DEVELOP OUR SOCIETY IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUR OWN VALUES IN POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND ALL OTHER RESPECTS AND AT THE SAME TIME WORK IN THE WORLD FOR INTERNATIONAL DETENTE AND PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT.

"THIS IS STILL OUR GOAL. TO THIS END, OUR SECURITY POLICY IS FOUNDED UPON AN INTERACTION BETWEEN FOREIGN POLICY, DEFENSE POLICY, OUR POLICY ON INTERNATIONAL DISARMAMENT ISSUES, TRADE POLICY AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION POLICY.

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"COUNTRIES CHOOSE VARIOUS PATHS FOR ATTAINING THEIR SECURITY POLICY GOALS. THE CHOICE IS GREATLY DETERMINED BY HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE AND GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION. A UNIQUELY LONG PERIOD OF PEACE HAS MADE AND STILL MAKES ITS MARK ON SWEDEN'S CHOICE. DURING THIS PERIOD WE DEVELOPED OUR POLICY OF NON-PARTICIPATION IN ALLIANCES IN PEACETIME AIMED AT NEUTRALITY IN THE EVENT OF WAR. THE FACT THAT SWEDEN HAS BEEN ABLE TO KEEP OUT OF WAR FOR A LONG TIME IS ONE REASON WHY THIS POLICY IS SO DEEPLY ROOTED IN THE WILL OF THE SWEDISH PEOPLE. THE POSSIBILITIES FOR OUR COUNTRY TO STAY OUT OF WAR AND SERIOUS CONFLICTS ALSO IN THE FUTURE, WHILE MAINTAINING OUR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE, IS BEST FURTHERED BY OUR POLICY OF NEUTRALITY. IT ALSO STRENGTHENS OUR ABILITY TO CONTRIBUTE TO EFFORTS IN VARIOUS CONTEXTS FOR PROMOTING A BETTER AND MORE PEACEFUL WORLD.

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NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-15
ACDA-10 EB-08 TRSE-00 OMB-01 IO-13 /101 W
-----101536Z 105506 /50

R 101200Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0009
INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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"THE SWEDISH POLICY OF NEUTRALITY IS NOT INTERNATIONALLY
GUARANTEED OR ESTABLISHED BY TREATY. SWEDEN HAS ITSELF
CHOSEN AND FORMULATED ITS SECURITY POLICY. THE
CREDIBILITY OF THIS POLICY IS THEREFORE NOT DEPENDENT ON
INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES. IT RESTS PRIMARILY ON THE
FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE POLICY WE PURSUE IN PEACETIME.

"AN ESSENTIAL PRECONDITION OF NEUTRALITY POLICY IS THAT
THE REST OF THE WORLD HAS CONFIDENCE IN OUR WILL AND
RESPECTS OUR ABILITY FIRMLY TO PURSUE THE POLICY WE HAVE
CHOSEN. IF OUR INTENTION IS TO BE CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD AND
RESPECTED, OUR POLICY CANNOT BE MADE DEPENDENT ON
TRANSIENT FACTORS, BUT MUST BE PURSUED WITH CONSISTENCY
AND STEADFASTNESS.

"SUCH INTERNATIONAL TIES - POLITICAL, ECONOMIC OR OTHERS -
WHICH MAKE AN ILLUSION OF OUR ABILITY TO REMAIN NEUTRAL IN
WARTIME ARE UNACCEPTABLE. THIS MEANS THAT WE CANNOT TAKE
PART IN BINDING COOPERATION WITHIN A GROUP OF STATES FOR
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THE PURPOSE OF DRAWING UP COMMON STANDPOINTS ON FOREIGN

POLICY. THERE ARE ALSO LIMITS TO OUR ABILITY TO COOPERATE IN ANY TRANSFER OF THE RIGHT OF DECISION FROM NATIONAL TO INTERNATIONAL BODIES. A CLOSE AND EXTENSIVE ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN SWEDEN AND OTHER NATIONS IS DESIRABLE FROM MANY POINTS OF VIEW. IN MY OPINION, THIS COOPERATION SHOULD BE FURTHER DEEPENED. BUT IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR SECURITY POLICY WE MUST ALSO OBSERVE THE RISKS INVOLVED IN THE TYPE OF DEPENDENCE THAT CAN BE EXPLOITED TO DEMAND POLITICAL AND MILITARY CONCESSIONS OF US.

"WE WISH TO CONTRIBUTE TO AND WORK FOR GREATER RESPECT FOR EVERY NATION'S FREEDOM AND RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION. WE ALSO WORK FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE, POLITICAL DETENTE, MILITARY DISARMAMENT AS WELL AS EXTENSIVE AND TRUSTFUL COOPERATION BETWEEN NATIONS. LASTING PEACE IN THE WORLD CAN ONLY BE SECURED IF THESE ENDEAVORS ARE KEPT AT FULL STRENGTH. EVERY STEP TOWARDS INCREASED INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ALSO PROMOTES THE ATTAINMENT OF OUR OWN SECURITY POLICY GOALS.

"THERE HAS LONG BEEN STRONG SUPPORT IN SWEDEN FOR THE IDEA OF AN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE AND LAW. THE UNITED NATIONS IS A MANIFESTATION OF THE EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE COLLECTIVE SECURITY ON THE LONG TERM THROUGH A VOLUNTARILY ESTABLISHED INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM. SWEDEN WILL ALSO IN THE FUTURE MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO STRENGTHEN THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE WORK OF THE ORGANIZATION TO PREVENT AND SETTLE INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS.

"THE ABILITY OF SMALL STATES TO INFLUENCE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IS LIMITED. INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS WILL, IN ALL PROBABILITY, CONTINUE TO BEAR THE STAMP OF ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE GREAT POWERS. IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR SECURITY POLICY WE MUST, THEREFORE, CONSTANTLY ASSESS

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DEVELOPMENT TRENDS IN THE WORLD AROUND US AND TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION WHAT RISKS THESE MAY INVOLVE FOR OUR SECURITY. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SUPER-POWERS AND THE MILITARY BLOCS ARE CHARACTERIZED BY EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN POLITICAL DETENTE. THESE EFFORTS ARE PARTLY FOUNDED ON THE DETERMINATION TO AVOID ANY DEVELOPMENT WHICH MAY LEAD TO NUCLEAR WAR. AT THE SAME TIME, IT IS ENVISAGED THAT POLITICAL DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE SUPER-POWERS WILL PERSIST IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. BOTH MILITARY BLOCS MAINTAIN LARGE FORCES IN EUROPE AND A FORCE POSTURE OF HIGH MILITARY PREPAREDNESS. IN ALL PROBABILITY THIS HIGH ARMAMENT LEVEL WILL PERSIST IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. SWEDISH NEUTRALITY POLICY MUST THEREFORE CONTINUE TO BE SUPPORTED BY A

STRONG, ALL-ROUND TOTAL DEFENSE IN ORDER TO RETAIN ITS
CREDIBILITY.

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ACDA-10 EB-08 TRSE-00 OMB-01 IO-13 /101 W
-----101536Z 105753 /50

R 101200Z MAR 77
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"COHERENT INTERNATIONAL ENDEAVORS ARE NECESSARY IF LASTING
PEACE IS TO BE ACHIEVED IN THE WORLD. IT CANNOT BE
REALIZED BY NATIONAL MEASURES ALONE. CONSEQUENTLY, THERE
IS NO CONTRADICTION BETWEEN SWEDEN'S DEEP INVOLVEMENT IN
INTERNATIONAL WORK FOR PEACE AND DISARMAMENT AND OUR
EFFORTS TO GIVE THE SWEDISH POLICY OF NON-PARTICIPATION
IN ALLIANCES THE SUPPORT OF AN ALL-ROUND TOTAL DEFENSE.
ONE FUNDAMENTAL PRECONDITION FOR SWEDEN'S VARIOUS
ENDEAVORS TO CONTRIBUTE TOWARDS A BETTER WORLD IS, OF
COURSE, THE PRESERVATION OF ITS INDEPENDENCE.

"IT IS CONSIDERED THAT THE BALANCE OF POWER BETWEEN THE
GREAT POWERS WILL PERSIST IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.
CONSEQUENTLY, IN SITUATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL CRISIS, THE
FORCES OF THE GREAT POWERS WILL PRIMARILY BE TIED UP
WITH EACH OTHER. AN ATTACK ON SWEDEN OR PARTS OF
SWEDISH TERRITORY IN SUCH SITUATIONS IS NOT CONSIDERED TO
BE OF PRIMARY INTEREST TO A GREAT POWER. SHOULD SUCH AN
ATTACK NEVERTHELESS BE CONTEMPLATED, THE FORCES OF THE
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AGGRESSOR CAN DEPLOY AGAINST US WOULD BE LIMITED BECAUSE THE GREATER PART OF HIS RESOURCES WOULD HAVE TO BE EMPLOYED AGAINST HIS PRIME ANTAGONIST. THEREFORE, EVEN A SMALL COUNTRY LIKE SWEDEN IS ABLE TO BUILD UP AND MAINTAIN A DEFENSE WHICH ADEQUATELY SUPPORTS ITS SECURITY POLICY. ALSO IN THE FUTURE, OUR TOTAL DEFENSE SHOULD HAVE SUCH STRENGTH, STRUCTURE AND PREPAREDNESS THAT IN A SITUATION OF CRISIS AND CONFLICT IN EUROPE NO POTENTIAL AGGRESSOR CAN REGARD THREATS, PRESSURES OR ATTACKS ON SWEDEN AS WORTHWHILE. THEN OUR TOTAL DEFENSE FULFILLS ITS INTENDED DETERRANT FUNCTION.

"THE DETERRANT CAPABILITY OF OUR DEFENSE CANNOT, HOWEVER, ONLY BE JUDGED ON THE BASIS OF ESTIMATES OF THE STRENGTH OF THESE FORCES WHICH COULD BE BROUGHT TO BEAR UPON US. A STATE CONTEMPLATING SUCH AN ATTACK MUST ALSO BE CONVINCED OF OUR WILL AND ABILITY TO OFFER STUBBORN RESISTANCE IN ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY. WE MUST THEREFORE INCULCATE RESPECT FOR OUR ABILITY TO LEAD, TRAIN AND EQUIP OUR TOTAL DEFENSE SO THAT THE POSSIBILITIES OF CARRYING THROUGH A SUCCESSFUL ATTACK ON OUR COUNTRY APPEAR UNCERTAIN. OUR TOTAL DEFENSE MUST BE STRUCTURED IN SUCH A WAY AND BE OF SUCH STRENGTH THAT NO DEFICIENCIES CAN GIVE RISE TO DOUBTS AS TO OUR RESOLUTION OF PURPOSE. MILITARY DEFENSE MUST, MOREOVER, BE DESIGNED SO THAT ITS DEFENSIVE PURPOSE IS QUITE CLEAR. THEN IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR ANYONE TO INTERPRET IT AS A THREAT. PREPARATIONS FOR, AND CONSIDERATIONS OF, MILITARY COOPERATION WITH OTHER STATES ARE QUITE OUT OF THE QUESTION.

"PROCUREMENT OF ESSENTIAL MILITARY EQUIPMENT MUST NOT PLACE SWEDEN IN A POSITION WHERE ITS DEPENDENCE ON OTHER COUNTRIES OF SUCH A NATURE THAT IT CAN BE EXPLOITED FOR PUTTING PRESSURE ON THIS COUNTRY.

"THE COMBINATION OF A FIRM, CREDIBLE FOREIGN POLICY AND
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A STRONG TOTAL DEFENSE SHOULD COMMAND THE RESPECT OF THE GREAT POWERS FOR SWEDEN'S WILL TO REMAIN NEUTRAL AND FOR ITS ABILITY TO RESIST PRESSURES OR OTHER AGGRESSIVE ACTIONS. IT MUST BE MADE CLEAR TO EVERYONE THAT WE ARE INTENT UPON DEFENDING OUR POLICY OF NEUTRALITY IF NEED BE. IT IS AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND THAT WE MAINTAIN WITH STEADFAST PURPOSE A TOTAL DEFENSE WHICH NO ONE CAN DISREGARD IN A SITUATION OF CRISIS OR WAR. OUR LONG-RANGE

DEFENSE DECISIONS ARE AN EXPRESSION OF THIS STEADFASTNESS
OF PURPOSE.

"OUR TOTAL DEFENSE PLAYS AN ESSENTIAL ROLE ALSO IN PEACE-
TIME. IN RECENT DECADES, DEVELOPMENTS IN NORTHERN EUROPE
HAS BEEN CHARACTERIZED BY STABILITY AND COOPERATION.
SWEDEN'S FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE POLICY HAVE MADE
A GREAT CONTRIBUTION TO THE STABILITY OF THE SECURITY
SITUATION PREVAILING IN THE NORDIC AREA. DENMARK AND
NORWAY ARE MEMBERS OF NATO. FINLAND COMBINES ITS POLICY
OF NEUTRALITY WITH A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP TO THE SOVIET
UNION. TO BOTH MILITARY BLOCS THE NORDIC COUNTRIES
CONSTITUTE A FLANK AREA WHERE ANY CHANGES OF POSITIONS
CAN HAVE AN IMPACT ON THE SITUATION OF BALANCE NOW PREVAILING
IN EUROPE AS A WHOLE.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0011
INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
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"A SUBSTANTIAL WEAKENING OF THE STRENGTH OF SWEDISH DEFENSE
AS COMPARED TO THAT OF OTHER COUNTRIES CAN UPSET
STABILITY AND BALANCE IN NORTHERN EUROPE. A FIRM
AND CONSISTENT SWEDISH FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY PROMOTES
PEACE AND STABILITY IN NORTHERN EUROPE. THE PURSUIT OF
THIS POLICY MUST ALSO BE IN THE INTERESTS OF OTHER
COUNTRIES.

"A MILITARY ATTACK HAS TO BE CONSIDERED AS THE GREATEST

THREAT TO OUR SECURITY IN VIEW OF THE CONSEQUENCES. DEFENSE AGAINST INVASION MUST, THEREFORE, BE THE PRIMARY TASK OF OUR TOTAL DEFENSE. ITS DETERRENT CAPABILITY CONSEQUENTLY STILL RESTS PRIMARILY ON THE STRENGTH OF MILITARY DEFENSE. "THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY IN ALL INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES LEADS, HOWEVER, TO INCREASED VULNERABILITY TO OTHER KINDS OF THREATS AND PRESSURES. ADDED TO THIS, FUTURE WARS AND CRISES MAY AFFLICT THE ENTIRE SOCIETY AND POPULATION TO A GREATER EXTENT AND IN OTHER WAYS THAN BEFORE. CONSEQUENTLY, TOTAL DEFENSE MUST BE SEEN AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF SOCIETY AND REASONABLE ACCOUNT OF UNCLASSIFIED

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THE NEEDS OF TOTAL DEFENSE MUST BE TAKEN IN THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY. A DEVELOPMENT ALONG THESE LINES WILL REDUCE OUR VULNERABILITY AND INCREASE OUR SECURITY. "OUR TOTAL DEFENSE IS AN EXPRESSION OF OUR DETERMINATION TO SAFEGUARD THE NATION'S SECURITY AND INDEPENDENCE. TOTAL DEFENSE IS, THEREFORE, THE CONCERN OF THE ENTIRE POPULATION AND IS FOUNDED ON THE PREMISE THAT EVERY CITIZEN CONTRIBUTES TO THE BEST OF HIS ABILITY TO THE DEFENSE OF THE COUNTRY. THIS IS WHY WE HAVE COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE, CIVIL DEFENSE DUTY AND OTHER TYPES OF COMPULSORY SERVICE. THE VOLUNTARY DEFENSE ORGANIZATIONS AND OUR POPULAR MOVEMENTS ALSO PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN STRENGTHENING THE FOOTHOLD OF THE TOTAL DEFENSE IDEA IN OUR COUNTRY. "WITH THIS BROAD CONCEPTION OF TOTAL DEFENSE, IT IS ONLY NATURAL THAT WE, AS FAR AS POSSIBLE, COORDINATE MILITARY AND CIVILIAN FUNCTIONS. TO THIS END, CIVILIAN AUTHORITIES RESPONSIBLE FOR CERTAIN FUNCTIONS IN PEACETIME RETAIN THIS COMPETENCE IN A SITUATION OF CRISIS OR WAR. COORDINATION OF THIS KIND WILL GIVE THE PRINCIPLE OF TOTAL DEFENSE AN EVEN FIRMER FOOTHOLD IN OUR SOCIETY. "FOR A LONG TIME THERE HAS BEEN BROAD CONSENSUS IN SWEDEN ON THE ORIENTATION OF OUR SECURITY POLICY AND THE NEED FOR A STRONG DEFENSE COMMANDING RESPECT. ONE CONSEQUENCE OF THIS HAS BEEN AGREEMENT ON ANNUAL ALLOCATIONS OF A CONSIDERABLE PROPORTION OF NATIONAL RESOURCES FOR DEFENSE PURPOSES. I ATTACH THE GREATEST IMPORTANCE TO THE BROAD POPULAR SUPPORT OF OUR SECURITY POLICY. PERRY

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MILITARY BUDGET, NATIONAL SECURITY, LEGISLATIVE BILLS, MILITARY PLANS, PUBLIC ATTITUDES, SPEECHES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 10-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STOCKH01069
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770082-1082
Format: TEL
From: STOCKHOLM
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770371/aaaacraq.tel
Line Count: 432
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 56e83dba-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 8
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 15-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3145464
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT ON SWEDISH SECURITY POLICY AND TOTAL DEFENSE
TAGS: PFOR, MILI, SW, (FALLDIN, THORBJORN), (KRONMARK, ERIK)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/56e83dba-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009